764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

●[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1][See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

721 I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
682 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Leloba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Wac Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
592 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
● 782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

Wac

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) [887] Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. [276] Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment [887] was complicated and good. Most drummers 200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 10 --Analyst]

Wa

776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one
●782 leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an
offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti.
Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.

231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
●782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

624 565 554 769 346 574 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" [782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house 342 624 532 has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

•782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
telen says are offering posts set before each
346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

24 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and perhaps bone bundles too. These run as follows: [782] (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilome-
ter's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to [753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why [782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take [152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed.
Another cause was molesting a child if done
by a neighboring kampong. There were also
radja wars, in which the people served, but
this was involved in high politics. Finally,
there were also the early wars against the ab-
origines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
●782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
takes over this function). When a new korke is
built, if the six posts do not fit into the
rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are
not happy because they are in need of food, so
they are pledged food. Formerly the people
then went out and got a head and hung it in
the korke. Then everything was all right.
Note that nowadays at such rites they give food
to the posts. For example, yesterday they
smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke
must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called
sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that
genealogical relationship is nearly everything
here. It shows also why descent is the basis
for the whole organization of power, etc., and
why marriage rules are so complex and strongly
held to. There have even been marriage rela-
tions with Riang Kanië, although they have not
been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamié in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 162 About eighty per cent of the population here is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

797 Roy repeats that there were three phases in the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 797 ●782 There are no Mohammedans here. When I asked why, he said it would be impossible, because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure
●782 in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disap-
796 peared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] Note also: according to Vatter[1] one of the
[173] suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay [774] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] [614] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition, each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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796 held under the ama kebang.

241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
●782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 614 177 Note the way that the church links with the old cult. I remember almost the first thing I heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months.[1] It just jibes with the quiet time.)

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke some food if the posts did not fit into the rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke.[2] (I suspect there was more of this than Roy says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

1 [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
2 [the assistant] 3 [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

●782 797 [231] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
●782 can be used.

771 Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic, and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
114 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.

776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just an empty place and some stones. The old tree has evidently died, as he says they do not cut them down. No one would dare live in that place again. They may go there occasionally if there is a reason to do so, but they do not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have the story. When the kampong moves, they get a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga happy, or the situation may become dangerous. Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place from time to time the occupants place eggs, rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family apartment or section has a little hanging shelf for the house naga's food. The main post is especially important, and that is why at ceremonies they must give it blood from animals, etc. (There must be a link here with the giving of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke; note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[782] or another the house naga is no longer any good. Then they must dismantle the house and build a new one. Many and many a house has been torn down and the folk have then built a new one for this reason. And when they do this, a great expense is entailed, because they may not use the old wood. They sell it to another family

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 ●782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

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|---|---|
| lavo | mouse |
| kaba | buffalo |
| paku | a leafy vegetable |
| betu | a kind of mouse |
| pake | frog |
| peti | a kind of bird |

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
● 782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
514 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for the first weeding, if there are many mice, and for harvest. The last mentioned is the biggest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
[114] not the regular pantomime one described by Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear relation between this and the peo of Nageh and the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these are forked as though they were cut-off trees; I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang tree had had branches cut and it looked like a rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed, and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko randang must be planted every two years, because the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie fallow. At this time beasts graze there and fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko randang and other lingko constantly, which is

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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242 311 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going to have to move away!

241 242 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 231 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for harvest too.

●782 527 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance. [535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 231 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at the new tjompang.

527 342 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.

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782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[744] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

[844] (10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

114 Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
124 before the war by an assistant of his on Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu Ë Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu
[273] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]